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Is the Ku Klux Klan Constructive or Destructive?

A Debate Between
Imperial Wizard Evans, Israel Zangwill
and Others

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Imperial Wizard Evans, Israel
Zangwill and Others

Reported by Edward Price Bell
Staff Writer, The Chicago Daily News

Evans, Hiram Wesley

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**IS THE KU KLUX KLAN
CONSTRUCTIVE OR DESTRUCTIVE?**

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



DR. H. W. EVANS
Imperial Wizard of Ku Klux Klan
(Photograph by Stephenson, Atlanta, Ga.)



ISRAEL ZANGWILL

An Intellectual Leader Among Jews
(By a staff photographer of The Daily News.)

ZANGWILL OFFERS CONGRATULATIONS.

3rd Jan /23

Dear Mr Price Bell,

Having read the opinions
of the "Wizard" whom you have so
dexterously brought into the open,
I shall be delighted to give my views
in reply, convinced as I am that
the only way to make the world safe
for democracy is to help the
American people to thresh out these
questions so vital both to America &
the world. Congratulating you on the
good I am sure you will have effected
I wish you & your readers a Happy New
Year,

Sincerely Yours,

Israel Zangwill

FACSIMILE OF NOTE BY EMINENT WRITER APPROVING DISCUSSION OF THE KU-KLUX KLAN ISSUE.

CREED OF THE KLANSMEN AND THOSE WHO DEBATE IT

At the Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis recently Edward Price Bell of *The Daily News* staff, under dramatic circumstances, obtained the first authorized interview with the imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Dr. H. W. Evans. This interview, given in the presence of some of his principal advisers, has been read and approved by Dr. Evans and it therefore stands as his own official statement of the views and purposes of the organization of which he is the head.

Indianapolis has become, under the direction of Dr. Evans, the chief publication center of the Ku Klux Klan. Its official newspaper, the *Fiery Cross*, which not very long ago published nine editions to be circulated in as many different parts of the country, added two further editions before the end of 1923 and has announced that beginning with January, 1924, it will publish twenty-three editions. It claims a circulation of about 400,000 weekly and asserts that with the establishment of the new editions it will have a circulation of 700,000. The organization maintains a Washington bureau, from which much of its material for circulation among klansmen is sent out, and it also has a sort of "court circular," the *Night Hawk*, which is published in Atlanta, Ga. Atlanta remains the chief governmental city of the organization

and Dallas, Tex., also is a center from which is sent out literature for a considerable part of the country.

In view of the extraordinary claims and the manifest growth of the Ku Klux Klan *The Daily News* thought it well to obtain and set forth the views of the imperial wizard. Mr. Bell presented these views to the criticism of the eminent author, Israel Zangwill, who is one of the most widely known representatives of the Jewish race. Herewith appear the Imperial wizard's interview and an interview with Mr. Zangwill given in the presence of a number of leading and representative Jewish citizens of Chicago.

Because the klansmen's activities are a leading political issue in Indiana, Mr. Bell obtained interviews with one of the chief representatives of the klan in that state, and also an interview with Mayor Davis of Terre Haute, an anti-klan candidate for the Republican nomination for governor. These interviews also appear in this little book, as well as an interview with Edward H. Morris, colored, a prominent member of the Chicago bar.

Thus is presented more clearly and forcefully than they have been presented elsewhere the two sides of the serious issue which the Ku Klux Klan has raised in this country. That issue challenges the earnest attention of the American people.

DR. EVANS ANSWERS QUESTIONS

"What roots, if any, has the klan in history?"

"Strictly speaking, the Ku Klux Klan of today is a new organization to meet a new problem. When it was started, some seven years ago, certain grandiloquent words were used, formally associating it with the old klan of the southern states. But, really, the old klan was liquidated when its work was finished, and the new klan has no essential connection with it. Post-civil war klansmen fought to destroy a bad local government; klansmen of today are fighting to preserve a good national one."

THE METHOD EXPLAINED

"And how do you think this can be done?"

"By maintaining a Christian civilization in America. This we can maintain if we will. We can reach a higher level than mankind ever has reached hitherto if we will. All the materials, natural and human, for this achievement we have. Pre-eminence belongs to us. Pre-eminence is enjoined upon us by God and by our obligations to the world. If the klan aspires to purify America and make her impregnable it is not for any selfish reason; selfishness corrodes and destroys the soul; it is in order that America, pure and impregnable, may extend a giant's helping hand to peoples less fortunate."

KLAN TURNS TO THE PEOPLE

"How are purity and impregnability to be realized?"

"By conservation and stimulation of the best qualities of the commonwealth. Our mental, moral and physical heritage is menaced; indeed, is in process of overthrow. It must be consolidated. It must be re-energized. It must go into action against the forces that are crowding it to the wall. Great leaders, dazzling minds, super-personalities cannot save us; we survive or perish according to the strength or the infirmity of our people in the mass. It is the mass of which the klan is thinking. It is the standard of this mass which we purpose to defend and lift up. Enlightened statecraft is all right, great and honest leadership is a precious and beautiful thing, but the potter's skill is useless without the proper clay. Our people must be of the right composition, the stuff of which they are made must be sound, or they cannot vindicate the American political and social experiment."

REGULATION OF IMMIGRATION

"How is this soundness to be insured?"

"First of all, in my judgment, with exceptions applying only to separated families, we temporarily should stop immigration absolutely. Then we should collect the information indispensable to a wise immigration policy. Such information would contain full knowledge of the causes and the effects of the foreign influx,

the facts relative to our needs for rural and urban labor, and scientific counsel concerning how these needs can be met without injury to the all-important principle of ultimate amalgamation into our political and social structure. We can tolerate no immigration policy that militates against our private and public standards of life. Ellis Island horrors should go forever. Examination of emigrants should take place abroad. Every newcomer we are to have in the future should make the voyage to America knowing he will be admitted and will be welcomed and looked after when he is here.

"How grave is the immigration peril one scarcely need point out any longer. Ku Klux Klansmen have been underlining it for some years, and now many leading American journals and publicists are sounding a deep and loud alarm. Action cannot be too quick. Something has been done, but not enough; the quota law is but a step in the right direction. Illiteracy, disease, insanity and mental deficiency are still pouring in upon us. Immigrants are streaming into cities to make modern Sodoms and Gomorrahs. Up to 1850 95 per cent of our immigration was of the Nordic types—kindred, desirable, easily assimilable people. By 1910 it was a Mississippi of inferior foreign elements, mostly utterly and eternally hopeless from the American point of view. What Nordic greatness has wrought in this country, if the Ku Klux Klan has anything to say—and it is going to have something to say—neither shall be torn down by political madness nor shall be dragged down by disease and imbecility."

DENIES CHARGES OF INTOLERANCE

"Ku Kluxism generally is regarded as religiously and racially intolerant."

"Ignorance of its nature, prejudice and calumny explain this view. Our entire fundamental concern is with the question of what permanent policy best will promote civilization—ours and that of others—for civilization is one and indivisible. This wide conception of our order I cannot too sharply accent. Klanism is altruistic or it is nothing. Every benefit we seek we seek not to monopolize, but to diffuse throughout our own citizenship and to place, so far as may be, at the service of mankind.

"Catholics, Roman and Greek, make themselves ineligible to membership in the klan by their predilection for churchly chiefship in human affairs. We separate church and state unconditionally and inexorably. We do so for the sake of both the church and the state, remembering history's lesson of the evils that attend each in any attempt to merge them. We wholly distrust and forever will oppose the parochial school as an institution in American life. It seems to us a dangerous civic and social disintegrant, inspired with the very essence of intolerance and un-Americanism. Catholics cannot be klansmen while to them the presidency at Washington is subordinate to the priesthood at Rome. We make no war upon their religion. Freedom of thought, liberty of conscience, the right to worship how one will—the klan not only concedes them all, but will fight for them all, as it will fight for every guaranty in the

American constitution, its political bible. Catholics cannot be klansmen not because of their particular form of worship, but because their theory of education and of government seems to the klan incompatible with the organic scheme of Americanism."

DECLARES JEW UNASSIMILABLE

"How about our Jewish population?"

"Of the good qualities of the Jewish character I am as well aware as is any man. Wandering ever since his ejection from Judea, nearly everywhere persecuted, the Jew, I am happy to say, has had a better home in America than in almost any other land in which he has lived. One-fifth of his race is here. By deliberate election he is unassimilable. He rejects intermarriage. His religious and social rites and customs are inflexibly segregative. Law-abiding, healthy, moral, mentally alert, energetic, loyal and reverent in his home life, the Jew is yet by primal instinct a Jew, indelibly marked by persecution, with no deep national attachment, a stranger to the emotion of patriotism as the Anglo-Saxon feels it. Klansmen have no quarrel with him, no hatred of him, no thought of persecuting him. As protestants are unavailable for membership in all-Jewish societies, so Jews are unavailable for membership in an all-protestant society like the klan. Moreover their jealously guarded separatism unfits them for co-operation in a movement dedicated to the thorough unification of the dominant strains in American life."

ATTITUDE TOWARD COLORED RACES

"Your attitude to the colored races?"

"Our attitude to every race, as I have tried to show, is one of sympathy, not of antipathy. My heart is not only devoid of racial hate but full of compassion for my fellow men of every creed and color. It is just this love for humanity that excites me to action to aid in rescuing America from a destructive inundation. I would save America if I could for her own sake: I am infinitely happier to work for her salvation for the glory of God and the general human good. When we shut out the Chinese and the Japanese from our shores we seemed to them harsh. We were not. They would have ruined us and by ruining us ruined our power to be of assistance to them in the passing years. I suspect all enlightened Chinese and Japanese see this now.

"We of the klan are supposed to hate the negro. Nothing could be further from the truth. The negro was brought to America. He came as a slave. We are in honor and duty bound to promote his health and happiness. But he cannot be assimilated. Intermarriage with him on a wholesale scale is unthinkable. There are more than 10,000,000 of him—about a tenth of our population. He cannot attain the Anglo-Saxon level. Rushing into the cities, he is retrograding rather than advancing and his rate of mortality is shockingly high. It is not in his interests any more than in the interests of our white population that he should seek to as-

sume the burdens of modern government. These are almost too heavy for the strongest shoulders and their weight is increasing. However much we may regret to state the truth when the truth is otherwise than pleasant, it is better that it be sated and faced. I am sure the interests of all are served thereby."

POTENTIAL KLANSMEN

"Are all who fight for sound principles, cleanliness and courage in public life virtually klansmen?"

"Not exactly klansmen, but men marching toward the klansmen's goal. Americanism ought to be understandable by this time to all who read and think. Americanism is the klan's supreme objective. Whoever knows what it is, and whoever fights for it—no matter what his origin or other non-psychic characteristics—is among the forces upon which the klan depends for the success of its precepts."

DEFENSE OF THE MASK

"Will you explain the dress and the strange-sounding names of the klan?"

"What government, what church, what secret order, what fraternity of any kind is without its characterizing forms? Surely pomp and circumstance, ceremonial, ritual, formulary were not unknown in the world prior to the organization of native-born white American protestants, bent upon saving American traditions from the mongrelized and criminalized foreign deluge. Our mask, about which so many

persons appear to vex their wits barrenly, has two substantial functions—it protects scores of thousands of our members from intimidation, sabotage and worse, and it screens our leaders from the temptation to forget the general interest in the pursuit of particular whims or ambitions. Self-esteem is eliminated. There is no lure of personal vanity nor of demagoguery. Out of klansmen's mouths issue only those things which in their hearts they feel are true, unselfish and patriotic. How many of the popular statesmen of the day would like to pour forth their messages from behind masks? It is labor with only one reward, though, as true values go, the best reward—the solace of duty done."

MUST MAKE A CHOICE

"What is the answer to the argument that the nation cannot exist half klan and half anti-klan?"

"It is never going to be half klan and half antiklan. It will be either predominantly klan or the victim of those heterogeneous un-American elements which neither understand nor are able to execute the characteristic political and social inspiration of the founders of this country. Ku Kluxism, by whatever name it may be called, is the *sine qua non* of the fruition of the American principle of organized society."

EXPLANATION OF THE OATH

"Are the theory and the oath of the klan the same in all parts of America?"

"Precisely. It is a national organization."

"Do you mind explaining the oath?"

"Certainly not. It is as categoric and solemn as the English language can make it. It enjoins obedience to the order's constitution, laws, regulations, usages and requirements, and prescribes the strictest secrecy regarding its internal affairs. Each member swears he 'never will recommend for membership any person whose mind is unsound, whose reputation is bad, whose character is doubtful, or whose loyalty to the United States of America is in any way questionable'. Selfishness in every form is interdicted. Social loyalty is elevated above personal friendship, blood relationship, family interest and every other relatively narrow tie. Klansmanship is stringently enjoined, but only 'in all things honorable.' To the government of the United States and to the governments of the states of the union we 'sacredly swear unqualified allegiance,' pledging our property, our votes, our honor and our lives. Free education, free speech, free press, separation of church and state, white supremacy, just laws, the pursuit of happiness—all these each klansman swears to seal with his blood, 'be Thou my witness, Almighty God.'"

SAYS KLAN OPPOSES MOB

"Then the klan is oath-bound to refrain from and to oppose mob violence?"

"Yes. Every klansman who commits a lawless act, or who withholds his influence against such an act, at the same time commits perjury. Uninformed and malicious critics have accused us of being a whipping organization. Many

crimes and cruelties abhorrent to our every feeling, conviction and purpose have been charged against our order calumniously. If we were a whipping organization, with our hundreds of thousands of ardent members spread throughout the country, and with insolent breakers of every law, human and divine, abounding, we should be whipping thousands of culprits every night. They deserve it. But that is not the klan way. Our way is to put the right men into office and to build up a public sentiment that will not only encourage but compel them to do their duty in conformity with their oaths. Far from instigating mob violence, the klan is reducing it. Lynchings are much fewer than they were before the klan became powerful. Statistics this year will prove this and will show the areas of great klan strength as freest from anarchic outbreaks of every kind. Klan power means power of law enforcement. I invite you to point out a single bootlegger, hi-jacker, black-leg gambler, denkeeper, roue, crook, bolshevist, anarchist, demagogue, political hypocrite or scoundrel who likes the klan. All this mottled horde is against us and will be against us to the finish. Is it not about time our decent critics began to love us for some of the enemies we have made?"

SOLDIER NOT NECESSARILY A LEADER

"Returning to the Catholics, Jews and colored peoples, it has been remarked that if they are good enough to die for America they are good enough to live for it."

"Pure sophistry. Excellent demagoguery, but

pure sophistry. Any one of us may be able usefully to die for America without being able usefully to live for America. We had in France—there are in every army—many strong, intrepid and noble men who could not be trusted at the helm of a nation. Soldiering is not statesmanship. In democratic countries the civilian, not the soldier, is supreme. And it is the klan's object to create and sustain a civilian authority incomparably equipped by heredity, by experience, by the sum of its qualities, to see America through to the goal that stood out so brightly in the clairvoyance of our fathers."

HE WELCOMES CRITICISM

"Do you think klansmen and anti-klansmen, on the principle of governments and oppositions in parliamentary countries, will tend to keep each other up to the mark?"

"I do. Any man, any organization, is better for criticism. The klan welcomes it. Let those who can designate our shortcomings. Of all men in the world klansmen are most concerned about the shortcomings of the klan. At the same time, I can assure those opposed to us that we shall not be found niggardly in critical reciprocity."

EXPLAINS KLAN IDEALS

"Your Christianity has been impugned because of your exclusivism."

"Klansmen stand on the Holy Bible. Upon the Holy Bible rest the American constitu-

tion and American civilization. Klansmen are wholeheartedly Christian, implacably opposed to atheistic intellectualism and to all the amatory and erotic tendencies of modern degeneracy. We are Christian, but we have no monopoly of Christianity. God is love. Would that all men knew Him! In the whole structure of its thought and policy klan quality is Christian quality. Its opposition, wherever it opposes, is for the purpose, not of injuring, but of helping. Education (I am in favor of a cabinet department of education second to none in its public importance), health (here we need another cabinet department, bent upon the greatest health crusade the world has known), home building—general intelligence, general health, the home the keystone of the American arch—these are klan objectives, and certainly they are Christian. As education should be free, so health ministry should be free. Hospitals, nurses and doctors should be available to all, rich and poor, in the interests of the commonwealth. For the eternal good of the country the first three ranking places in the federal government should be budget, education and health."

NO POLITICAL AFFILIATION

"What do you mean when you say the klan, as such, will take no part in politics?"

"I mean that the klan is not a political party. Klansmen may belong and do belong to all parties and to no party. Every klansmen knows his principles and he votes for the candidate or the party in whose hands he regards his

principles as safe or comparatively safe. To be sure, klansmen, like other men, will use their influence to have parties and candidates further their objects; and, equally to be sure, if a candidate appears in the political arena blatantly proclaiming his hostility to our order and his purpose to destroy it if he can, klansmen are likely to vote against him."

PEACE THE SUPREME END

"What is your idea of American foreign policy?"

"It should be, in my judgment, a policy of the greatest energy, sympathy and courage—a Christian policy, sagacious and self-respecting, but not too self-regarding, and certainly not sordid. What the world needs above all else is the measureless boon of peace. No national government is worth its salt unless it not only piously favors, but patiently fights for peace. Aloofness as a barrier against war we have tried. It broke down. It probably will break down again. We should try a barrier of a different type. Our whole moral weight should be constantly—not desultorily, but constantly—in the scale for peace. We are told domestic problems are our most important problems. So they are. But what is of supreme importance to us domestically? Our manhood and womanhood and wealth, are they not?"

"And what becomes of these, what happens to these, if we have war? Our recent war, not to mention its horrible consequences to others and through them to ourselves, cost us primar-

ily nearly \$50,000,000,000 and will cost us four times that amount before it is liquidated. Thinking women and men throughout Christendom know that another great war would ruin civilization beyond repair. Militant spirituality is required in our leaders and in our citizens. We are a people of undoubted physical courage. But physical courage will not bring peace. Peace will come only through a resolute exercise of mental and moral force through clear thinking and vigorous pleading. Our voice should be heard in the council rooms of humanity. That we shall keep our independence inviolate need not be said to any one outside a lunatic asylum. But inviolate independence does not imply, except in weak and befuddled intellects, a renunciation of fellowship with peace-loving mankind."

MR. ZANGWILL CRITICIZES THE KLAN

"One can feel the magnetism of Dr. Evans in his interview," said Mr. Zangwill, after a careful study of the remarks of the imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. "His interview, indeed is a vividly-revealing portrait of himself—an honest man of force, with whom, I am sure, I could agree on many things, if we could sit down together and really come to understand each other.

"In a word, I have a great respect for Dr. Evans' character, but I have no respect for his knowledge. He is one of those men who make history; but history, unfortunately, very often is made by men like Torquemada, without either knowledge or philosophical inspiration. Dr. Evans, with all his good intention, talks a great deal of sheer nonsense and dangerous nonsense. Let him beware, lest, despite his good will he unleash the dogs of religious and racial war in America.

NORDICISM AND CHRISTIANITY

His conception is full of predominance and megalomania. He envisages a Nordic God—not a Universal God, but a Nordic God. Now all this Nordic idea is rubbish, as I shall show later. Dr. Evans would nationalize God, or naturalize Him—not, indeed, as an American God, but as a Nordic God omnipotent in America. As to this notion of naturalizing God as an American, I know of no adequate proof that

He has lived in this country for the last 500 years. America was not discovered until 1492, and God had a home somehow before that.

"Dr. Evans' 'Christian civilization' and his ignorant Nordicism really will not do for America. Christianity always has been a minority religion. It is a religious rebellion. When the rebellion succeeded and Constantine established Christianity as a state religion, it turned into paganism, plus certain dogmas. Neither with his religious nor with his racial idea has Dr. Evans started soon enough. He might be able to carry out his program in Alaska; he cannot carry it out in America. Events in America have anticipated him. He also is too late in the Ku Klux movement. Romantic hooligans who started the movement may prove uncontrollable, and my advice to him is to resign from a position that no 'wizardry' can make possible. He commits the error of thinking of America as a country when he ought to think of it as a continent. Realities here, irreducible realities, religious and racial, hold the field against him. He could clear the ground for his proposed experiment only by smashing a large part of American civilization and removing it from the scene.

WARNS OF REVERSION TO MEDIEVALISM

"This gigantic piece of sabotage, with its concomitant bloodshed, we must assume that Dr. Evans, with his genuine humanitarianism, would not wish to see. It was a Balkan patriot's lamentation that there was no chance for his Christian country, unless its Jews and Moslems

could be killed off. Ku Kluxism, with all its falsification of American history, its bigotry, and its menace to the America of Washington and Lincoln—its threatened reversion to the medievalism which Europe has never really shaken off—has not yet arrived at the blood-thirstiness of this Balkan patriot and of millions of other Europeans.

"But its course sets in the same direction. Despite Dr. Evans' reassuring words, it is inimical to Catholics, of whom there are 18,260,000 in America; to Jews, of whom this country has 3,600,000, and to negroes, numbering some 11,999,000—in fine, to practically one-third of the population of the United States. Even if there were such a thing as the Nordic homogeneity, the Nordic solidarity, of Dr. Evans' imagination—an uninstructed imagination—only a moment's consideration of these statistics, with the great and awesome facts they reflect, would suffice to show the reasoning mind that Dr. Evans is a dangerous dreamer.

"Scarcely a line of Dr. Evans' discussion is logic-proof. For example, he hyphenates 'purity' and 'impregnability.' They are incompatible team-mates. Purity is moral, impregnability military. Purity implies 'God's fool,' the sheer beauty of holiness, a spiritual conception. Impregnability is a pagan ideal, implying, storming troops and fortresses. Every one will agree with Dr. Evans in wanting to purify the masses of the people, but few will discern how this can be done by involving the masses in a quarrel pregnant with civil war. It is, of course,

true that the potter's skill is wasted unless the potter have proper clay. Dr. Evans' error consists in his notion that there is no good clay except Nordic clay.

"A Jewish rabbi told me that Dr. Evans himself inducted him into the 32d degree of the Masonic order. It is questionable, therefore, whether the Ku Klux oath does not negate the oath that Dr. Evans himself takes at Masonic lodges to treat all other members as brothers, for these members include Jews and negroes.

"At this point let us look at this Nordic figment for a moment. In Dr. Evans' thinking, Nordicism is the sum of the essential components of the theory and the practice that alone can preserve 'Americanism.' Parenthetically, I would say that American ideals are not Christian ideals, but Jewish ideals—for the Puritan founders of your commonwealth were essentially Old Testament men—and that the destruction of these ideals would be more tragic for the world than even the destruction of the Jews, whose faith and literature have nourished continents.

NORDICISM UNDER SCRUTINY

"Nordicists, in Dr. Evans' interpretation, stand on the Holy Bible. Their feet are planted upon it as upon a Gibraltar—a thing unchanging—though scholarship's reading of the Bible is changing. It is viewed from different and irreconcilable angles. Fundamentalists and modernists have their say about it. But let that pass. Dr. Evans, contemptuous of the

Asiatics, stands upon the Holy Bible, which was written from cover to cover by Asiatics and first circulated exclusively by Asiatics. Dr. Evans is scornful of the Mediterraneans, though the savage north always has gone to the sunny south for its wealth of the mind—to Rome for its law, to Greece for its art and thought, and to Judea for its religion.

"Nordics of the Ku Klux type do not know their own history or blood. They forget that the Napoleonic code of Nordic France was created by a Corsican. They forget that Nordic mentality, if not Nordic physique, too, was made in Asia. They forget that all the great religions were made in Asia—those of Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed, Moses and Jesus. Ku Kluxers of the Dr. Evans school at least would reinstate the great German race—a bit of gold in their mass of base metal. Englishmen, if any men, should be sound Nordics. But how are they made? Blended of bloods innumerable. England, like every other country, has been a melting pot.

ENGLAND AS A MELTING POT

"Recall Tennyson's lines in welcome of Princess Alexandra—'Normans and Saxons and Danes are we, but all of us Danes in our welcome of thee.' Only three of the constituents. Everyone remembers the Huguenots. Near the British museum, London, is a church all of whose services are still in French, and the village children of Essex still ask for 'largesse.' When I called your country 'The Melting Pot,' I meant only that it was the most gigantic ex-

ample of a universal process. Roman garrisons left their blood in our island. It often is forgotten that these occupations, with the many strange tribes of that great empire, are curiously analogous to the colonial troops of the French now in Germany.

"Roman tribes have left us Sarmatians in Essex, Tungerians at Dover, Spaniards at Pevensey, Belgians at Reculver, Stablesians (from Germany) at Burgh Castle, Dalmatians in Lincolnshire, Pannonians at Doncaster, an African tribe at Moresby, the Nervii at Ambleside, Cilicians at Greta Bridge, Portuguese at Pierce Bridge, more Belgians at Wallsend, Asturians at Benwell, Quadi, Marcomanni and Dacians, Moors and Thracians elsewhere. All these and many other elements have gone to the making of Dr. Evans' Nordics from England. And, I daresay, the imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan would be surprised to learn that Slavic Jews are objected to in Palestine on the ground that they are 'converted Nordics'—Nordics converted to Judaism. You will observe that the whole Nordic mist vanishes before the sun of a little history and a little truth.

THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION

"Immigration into America, in Dr. Evans' opinion, should be 'stopped absolutely,' at least pending extensive investigations. The investigations he proposes would require colossal state machinery and cost countless millions. They are impracticable. Besides some of the imperial wizard's tests of fitness for entry into

America are foolish. He is against illiteracy, though many of the greatest men of the world have been illiterate—remember Abraham Lincoln's father—while Oscar Wilde, for instance, was only too literate. To bracket illiteracy with disease and insanity is ridiculous. And many a good man has been in jail. Christ was in jail. I am very doubtful, under Dr. Evans' dispensation, whether Christ would get through Ellis Island if He came to America today as a prospective American citizen, even if He succeeded in getting His visa from your Palestine consul, for, besides being in jail, He was an Asiatic.

"It is a cruel moment—the most cruel moment in history—for America to shut her gates against the immigrant. Europe's misery is unfathomable. Dr. Evans should remember the words of the founder of the religion on which he would base American institutions and American life. He should remember that Christ said, 'Forasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto me.' Humanitarianism bids America, not to close her gates, but to open them; and no charity of hers can suffice if she refuses this boon to the sore-stricken sections of mankind. Moreover, America needs European workers. Her industrial situation is calling for them. For every white immigrant she excludes, a black man will migrate from her cotton fields, and this means difficulty in the South and trouble in the North. America can take millions of Europeans to her own benefit, not less than to theirs. If she must shut her gates, let her do so when Europe is less naked and hungry than

now. If Christ says anything to Dr. Evans and other exclusionists, I should think He would say this: I agree, anyhow with Dr. Evans that exclusions, when made, should be made in Europe to save the breakup of homes and the breaking of hearts.

THE LUST FOR POWER

"'Civilization is one and indivisible,' says Dr. Evans. He is quite right. I am delighted to find this great truth in his mind. But his arrogation to himself and his followers of a position of pre-eminence, a supreme judgment seat, the power of command and of control—this I cannot assimilate. True, he tells us his scheme and his organization are altruistic. Power is wanted only that good may be done. It is an old story. Dickens hit it all off in the Rev. Mr. Chadband. Greedy men, materialists, industrial and commercial adventurers after oil and rubber and precious minerals—British and American and other imperialists—adore idealists like Dr. Evans and Rudyard Kipling, who do the intellectual and moral work necessary to smooth the way for their masked and sheeted advance, for they too hide their faces. Dr. Evans gives us nothing looking to that unity and harmony of the world which he appears to desire.

"He objects to the Catholics and the papacy. But his argument amounts to a proposal to make a little pope of himself. I understand that the kloran contains a clause: 'I swear loyalty to the imperial wizard and the constitution of the United States,' thus putting the im-

perial wizard first. Catholics employ an elaborate ritualism; ritualism is an outstanding feature of the Ku Klux aggregation of absurdities. Dr. Evans seems to fear insoluble segregations in American society, yet he is endeavoring to segregate the so-called Nordics from the rest of the American people. Jews he regards as outside the American political pale, because of what he calls their separatism, yet his efforts are addressed to making that separatism real and conclusive.

THE JEW IS A CITIZEN

"His assertion is that Jews are unassimilable by 'deliberate election.' If they are unassimilable at all, they are so, not by deliberate election, but by deliberate rejection. He declares that Jews reject intermarriage. It is not so. More Jews intermarry with gentiles than protestants with Catholics. In my play, 'The Moderns,' one of the best actors is the grandson of a famous American rabbi through a charming American lady. Dr. Evans' picture of the Jews as a close fellowship is utterly misleading. Jews have no unity except in suffering. The Diaspora—and even the so-called Jewish home in Palestine has become a part of the Diaspora—is remarkable for nothing more than for its leaderlessness and its disamalgamation. It will face any trial, any sacrifice, perform any prodigy of valor, but only under leaders or for countries not its own. To this day the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 and the rest of Jewry have separate synagogues.

"Impugning Jewish character as material of

American citizenship, Dr. Evans should know that the scattered Jewries of the world—what I term the Diaspora—are notoriously ultra-nationalistic. Were such a thing possible, American Jews would be, not 100 per centum, but 200 per centum American. I should like Dr. Evans to study the character of 'Baron Gripstein' in my play, 'The Cockpit' (Europe), designed as a pendant to 'The Melting Pot.' Gripstein is an international Jewish financier—the first, I venture to think, truly depicted in art—who, at the outbreak of war, at once became the greatest chauvinist in the country, and was made president of the man power board.

A JEWISH PLEDGE

I also would refer the klan chieftain to a scene in the pendant play, 'The Melting Pot,' showing how Americanism, the love of the stars and stripes, is stamped into the hearts of Jewish children. 'David,' in this scene, describing in moving accents how he saw Jewish school children saluting the American flag, accurately reports them as saying:

"'Flag of our great republic, guardian of our homes, whose stars and stripes stand for bravery, purity, truth, and union, we salute thee. We, the natives of distant lands, who find rest under thy folds, do pledge our hearts, our lives, our sacred honor, to love and protect thee, our country, and the liberty of the American people forever.'

"This to hearts, remember, at the most malleable stage. Has the 'Nordic' pledge or oath of the Ku Klux Klan anything better than this

pledge of the Jew? Place, not race, I would tell Dr. Evans, forms nationality. Just a few persons on a ship, or in a railway car, traveling for some time together, strike up a camaraderie, a fellowship, a social loyalty, that is neither more nor less than the embryonic stuff of nationality. So wonderful is the attachment of the human affections to place, that I have known Jewish refugees, though prosperous in other lands, smitten with grief over the misfortunes of the very countries whence they had fled from persecution.

NEGRO ABLE TO RISE

"Negroes, in Dr. Evans' *ipse dixit*, cannot attain the Anglo-Saxon level—cannot rise. In his view that the negro cannot rise, he is at odds with 'anthropological science. At the congress of races in London just before the war, it was urged by an eminent anthropologist and unanimously accepted that all races contain the raw materials of development—in other words, can rise. If this is so, the negro can rise, and if he can rise he ultimately can attain the Anglo-Saxon level. It is only a question of opportunity and time.

"Lincoln, writing from Springfield, Ill., on Aug. 24, 1855, to Joshua F. Speed of Kentucky, said: 'I am not a Know-Nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now

practically read it that "all men are created equal—except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.'

"Dr. Evans, if he is to be a good Lincolnian, must enlarge his conception of liberty until it has room not only for all white people, but for all negroes as well. Citizenship for the negro does not mean a premature assumption by him of the burdens of government. It was argued by some that enfranchisement of women would issue in political domination by women. Have we seen it? On the contrary, the majority of women elected to the British house of commons, from Lady Astor upward or downward, have simply their husbands' seats.

THE MASK AND THE VOTE

"I am amused by Dr. Evans' argument touching the mask. He says it is an eliminator of vainglory and demagoguery—a conservant of personal honesty and patriotism. Yet the supreme leader of the klan, the imperial wizard, does not wear the mask! One is reminded of the Jewish story of the meekest man in Israel, who always walked last in the procession. Dr. Evans renounces the suggestion that the klan is a political party. He says the members will vote how they like. I will tell him—though I ought not—that if he breaks up the mass strength of

the organization he will reduce the organization to futility; it will have no effect whatever; it will be a sham. Either it will have mass-strength and mass-action, like the fascisti in Italy, and thus be a grave danger in America, or it will be nothing.

"I agree with Dr. Evans that what the world transcendentally needs is peace. I also agree that American aloofness is no reliable barrier against a war, with America in it. This conclusion is overwhelmingly supported, both by reason and by history. Clear thinking and vigorous pleading we undoubtedly require—thank God for any one who can supply them! But Dr. Evans has hardly stated his admirable thesis when he proceeds at a stroke to dash the possibility of its realization. 'Our independence,' he avers, 'we shall keep inviolate.' If so, farewell to the hope of world peace.

"To independence inviolate belongs the maternity of war. So long as we have unlimited national sovereignties we can have no form of sovereignty insuring peace. The United States is the key. Lincolnize and federalize the world. Peace presupposes the abolition of passports, visas, frontiers, customs houses, and all other devices that make of the population of our planet a mutual irritation society instead of a co-operative civilization, just as in your separate states. Surrender of so-called sovereign rights is the price of peace, and no lesser price will purchase it. Bok prizes and all other shifts or contrivances will be vain so long as the fetichism of the political frontier restricts and distorts, human psychology.

AN APPEAL TO KLUXISM

"Let Dr. Evans and his followers give up their sectional chauvinism. Let them forego the vision of an American China of monotonous millions of one hundred percenters. Let them, instead of drawing away from Catholics and Jews, unite with both in reasserting, not an American, nor a Nordic, but the Universal God; let them help to equate religion with life; there is too much politics in religion, too little religion in politics. All good Americans working together—'Nordics,' negroes, Catholics, Jews—will be none too many to save America from infidelity to her mission of salvation.

"Charitable, is she? Yes; assuredly, above all others. But mankind needs more than doles in aid; it needs ideas; it needs fellowship; it needs oneness and indivisibility of moral strength. America cannot stand out without incurring inexpungeable guilt. No amount of charity, in the sense of money-giving, will save her great name, if she fail in the opportunity and the duty of fellowship. Bryce, in his immortal work on America, likens her to Dante's lampbearer, shedding a radiance upon a path for others to follow. America's lamp has shone for a moment in our dark world; it threatens to go out, leaving a darkness that will be only the more tragically and tangibly felt."

TERRE HAUTE MAYOR TALKS

Ku Kluxism and anti-Ku Kluxism are aligned against each other frontally throughout Indiana. Politically there will be a pitched battle between them this year. One of the outstanding protagonists of the forces opposed to the klan will be Ora D. Davis, mayor of Terre Haute, lawyer, champion of good citizenship, a genial, rather bashful giant six feet three inches tall and weighing more than 200 pounds. Mayor Davis, a Republican, is the first man to declare his candidacy for the governorship in the approaching election, and he stands on a platform of uncompromising opposition to the klan.

"This organization, boasting all the time of its Americanism, seems strangely alien to me," said Mayor Davis, foe of red lighters and gamblers, speaking to the writer the other day in Terre Haute. "What could be less American and less intelligible to American common sense than are the regalia, the insignia and the nomenclature of this order? What has Americanism to do with masked faces, cryptic mummeries and such terms as 'giants,' 'grand dragons,' 'night hawks,' 'wizards,' 'cyclops,' 'titans' and 'terrors'? Are the tar bucket, the whip, the rope and the boycott accepted paraphernalia of Americanism? They say they are Christian. Are these things not more pagan than Christian? Do they not date from a time before Christianity was known."

STYLES KLAN AS ANTI-AMERICAN

"It will hardly do, in the light of the facts—

this affirmation of a klan monopoly of Americanism and Christianity. I shall fight the klan, and I ask no quarter from it. In my opinion, far from being American, it is utterly and dangerously anti-American. It smacks of the primordial and the barbaric. Mind you, I am not quarreling with any individual klansman; thousands of upright citizens may have felt justified in joining the organization; many have joined it, to my certain knowledge, under a misapprehension of its purposes. I am not against the individuals in the klan; I am against the klan. I am against it as an institution, and especially as an institution that pretends to domineer over our politics. I am against it in its quality as 'invisible empire.'

"All the people, not part of the people, are the care of our federal constitution and of the constitutions of the states—at any rate, the constitution of the State of Indiana. Lincoln had it right in his ever-quoted description of our government as 'a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' Religious tests always have been repugnant to American political conceptions. Our Indiana constitution says, 'All men shall be secured in their natural rights to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences,' and 'No religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office of trust or profit,' and 'The courts shall be open,' and 'In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to a public trial by an impartial jury in the county in which the offense was committed, to be heard by himself or counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him,

and to have a copy thereof; to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor.'

DENOUNCES OATHS TO "EMPEROR"

"These constitutional provisions did not come into existence accidentally. They issued from history. They sprang from man's experience in society. They represent a freedom-loving people's effort to establish and fortify its freedom in law. Evils and tyrannies preceded them—see these things strewn all along the course of democratic evolution. Now the klan is striking at these fortifications. It is laying siege to the citadel of fundamental human rights. It is attacking democratic civilization as worked out by the great minds and by the valiant rank and file of the American people. If it could win, we should bid good-bye to Americanism as we have known it and as it has been known to the world.

"Ku Kluxism means an iron-clad oath. This oath is to an 'invisible empire' and its 'emperor.' This 'empire' and 'emperor' deny the accused the right to a public trial, the right to be heard by himself or counsel, the right to demand the nature of the accusation against him, and to have a copy thereof; the right to meet the witnesses face to face; and they also require a religious test as a qualification for office. They therefore deny the right of all men to be secured in their natural right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences. In its entirety, indeed, the klan moves squarely against the consti-

titutional securities of the American commonwealth.

"One is deeply depressed by what plainly awaits us if we travel the path defined by the Ku Kluxers. It leads straight to strife. Strife means the flight of reason and justice and the advent of force. Force cures nothing in the complex structure of human relations. Force only breaks and destroys and smoothes the way for passion, oppression and terrorism. Klansmen face backward, not forward. They would march toward the persecutions, the thralldoms, the outlawry, the anarchy and the sanguinary turmoils from which we have escaped. Foretastes of these we have in what klansmen already have done—in their terrorisms, their mob violence, their whipping bees, kidnappings and murders.

RIGHTS OF THE ALIEN

"Real Christian sentiment, not the Christian sentiment of exclusivism and privilege, is what we need in our American life, private and public. To put any section of mankind beyond the pale is not Christian. To monopolize political opportunity is not Christian. Catholicism, Judaism, African blood, so-called alienality of origin—none of these has forfeited by its teachings, still less by its acts, its right to what is symbolized by the American flag. Exponents of all these have played their part in the great constructive political and material achievement called America. Catholics and Jews and negroes and aliens have known how to die for our flag, and any one who

knows how to die for it ought to know how to live for it.

"Need for greater purity, more character, more courage, deeper wisdom in our leaders? Heavens, yes! But Ku Kluxism does not show us how to get these things. It does not show us how to mobilize the best there is in our citizenship. It shows us how to divide our citizenship and to set the divided elements at one another's throats. In order to make the best of our opportunities we want social harmony, not social conflict. If there are bad Catholics, Jews, negroes and aliens, so there are bad protestants, bad Christians, bad white men, bad old-stock Americans. We want all the good women and men together. Tags do not count. Character and ability are the acid and the only test.

KLAN NOT DEMOCRATIC

"Looking over the klan's pretensions to a sort of quintessential democracy, one wavers between mirth and astonishment. Have these men no grasp of the meaning and the connotation of words, or have they no sense of humor, or do they put the intelligence of some of their followers in the plane of the ape? Democracy! Well, if it is democracy, where does 'His Majesty, William Joseph Simmons, imperial wizard,' get off? What does 'The Aulic of His Majesty' mean? What does 'Emperor of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, in the Imperial Palace in the Imperial City of Atlanta, Commonwealth of Georgia, United States of America'—what does this jar-

gon signify, if Ku Kluxism is ready to be crucified for pure democracy?

"I don't like the look of it. I find nothing democratic in it. I feel its leaders either do not understand the word democracy or are deliberately misleading their people. Ku Kluxism is strong in Indiana, particularly in the rural districts, but I do not think it is strong enough to beat me, if I get the nomination for governor. Even if I did think it were, I hope I need not say I should fight it. It is the duty of every American, in my view, to fight it. This is what I shall urge in the campaign. Even if the plan were not, as I see it, an un-American and un-Christian organization, there is no call for it in our politics. Secrecy were better kept out of politics. At best it breeds suspicion and is pregnant with evil. God's sunlight ought to be good enough and safe enough for all of us.

"Ku Kluxism has its vicious commercial side. It is a moneymaker for its officers. There is always the temptation for them to sell their nostrum to sufferers from all sorts of ills, real or imaginary. Consider the conditions in different communities. Few communities, indeed, are without their grievances. They are wronged by political cheapjacks and crooks. They are overtaxed. They feel public jobs are multiplied for no other purpose than to fleece the people and keep party machines in good repair and well oiled. Along comes our Ku Klux salesman, looking for \$10 a throw. He can cure anything. Just get into the klan and get the klan into politics and you'll have the best

possible of situations in the best possible of worlds. It's not a bad spiel, and it has separated many a man from a \$10 bill. But these separations, in my opinion, will not be effected so easily in the future. And when the funds dry up the klan will dry up and we shall hear of it no more."

PROMINENT KLANSMAN'S VIEWS

Indiana Ku Kluxers of authority, unlike some of their Texas confreres, have not been giving interviews to the newspapers; their public appeals they have been confining to the platform and to their speeches as reproduced in the klan press. When, after a good deal of difficulty, a prominent Indiana klansman was induced to talk to me, he said:

"Some of us are in the position of Nehemiah building his great wall. You will remember he was asked to come down from the wall and talk things over with his enemies in the plain. He excused himself with these words: 'I am doing a great work. Why should the work cease while I come down to you?' And then Nehemiah's accosters made accusations against him, whereupon he replied: 'There are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.' One of my friends wanted me publicly to debate the question of the klan with him, and I gave him the answer of Nehemiah.

SAYS KLAN IS FOR PEACE AND LAW

"But I do not object to stating my view of the klan to an impartial inquirer. We are not an aggressive organization. We are a law-loving, justice-loving, peace-loving organization. Our oath binds us to put the law above everything else. Our movement—a purely Christian movement—is looked upon by its members as

holding out the hope of the perpetuity of American democracy through a well-informed and conscience-inspired public opinion.

"We have in this country too many laws and too many thoughtless and ignorant lawmakers. Of this fact any lawyer can cite incredible illustrations. When last in Washington I found 20,000 bills awaiting the statute book. These excesses and evils of legislation are destroying the law-loving sense of our people and threatening us with disaster. Federal, state and municipal laws want reduction and simplification. Ku Kluxism is against excessive, oppressive and ignorant legislation.

"Ability and purity in public life are our greatest objectives. Only ability and purity in public life, in our opinion, can save democracy. When we fight for these things, therefore, we are fighting for democracy. Some of my friends say to me, 'How are you going to control your vast organization?' One day, they seem to fear, our hundreds of thousands or millions of American citizens will run amuck. Strange apprehension! Firstly, as I have said, we solemnly bind ourselves to support the government and obey the law; and, secondly, we are a Christian organization, subject to all the moral inhibitions of Christianized mankind.

A PROGRAM OF BATTLE

"Considering some of the anxieties aroused by the klan, one would think it the only secret organization this country has known. There are many others. They antedate the klan by

scores of years. And let me say this: We are not fighting one of them. In the main, we are for things—not against things. As regards other organizations, we are on the defensive. Our sole offensive is for a better-educated, higher-minded, freer and happier people, with a local and national leadership worthy of them. It is not only ignorance and crime we shall fight in our so-called leaders; we also shall fight indifference, evasion, hypocrisy, cynicism, cowardice and lack of vision. These things we regard as peculiarly dangerous to our institutions—quite as dangerous as either ignorance or crime, and, as to most of them, more contemptible.

"You ask me what we are going to do with the Catholics, Jews and negroes. We are not going to do anything with them. We certainly are not going to harm them. Our idea is simply this: Primary responsibility for the preservation and betterment of our form of government rests upon native-born Americans who are white, who are protestants and who are gentiles. This implies no disparagement of other nationalities, races or religions; it is merely a claim for what we regard as the natural political precedence of this country—the precedence of those who mainly made the country. Ku Kluxism asserts the principle that the American political heritage—the heritage that is withstanding the shocks of history so well—must be safeguarded principally by native-born white protestant gentile Americans, who, nevertheless, contemplate no manner of unlawful attack upon the political, so-

cial or economic rights of other American citizens.

WHY SOME ARE BARRED

"Why do we not take Catholics, Jews and negroes into the klan? For very much the same reason. I assume, that protestants are not taken into the Knights of Columbus, nor gentiles into B'nai Brith, nor white men into Afro-American societies. We have the right, as they have the right, to choose a membership naturally in sympathy with our aims. Our principle of selection, like theirs, is that of natural affinity for the purposes in hand. This principle is universal in human life—in marriage, in the family, in business, in professional and social relations and in politics.

"Now, as to newcomers to America. We used to be a melting pot; we are such no longer; melting pots, like other things, have their capacity, and ours has been overreached. Already so large a proportion of our population is foreign born that our country threatens to pass out of the hands of those who built it up and who understand it into the hands of those who had no part in building it up and who do not understand it. There is a great peril here—a great peril to all of us, native and foreign born. Ku Kluxism says the foreign flood must be checked. It says Americanism must be preserved for the good of both those to whom it primarily belongs and those who have sought or may seek its shelter from abroad.

MASK AS A DEFENSE

"Why do klansmen wear masks? As devices

of defense. As yet we are compelled to be on our guard against enemies, for we are misunderstood and maligned. Unprincipled persons are smuggled into the organization to steal its membership rolls. Antiklan forces, subtle, shrouded in mystery, hitting out of the dark, stop at nothing from defamation of character to boycott and murder. Scores of thousands of our members live on farms without fire or police protection; we cannot expose these members and their families to the perils that would beset them if they were known. We authorize the wearing of masks only in lodge rooms, at funerals and when our members are holding celebrations of their own at specified places with the knowledge of the authorities. I have no doubt the day will come when the klan will be so thoroughly established in public confidence that the mask will be abolished. Meanwhile, within the limits defined, there is no reason of law or public policy why klansmen should not veil their faces if they like.

"Mark you, no sensible spokesman of our order pretends all klansmen are honorable or honest or without offense. As in every other body of men, hooded or unhooded, disloyalty develops in the klan. Men violate their oaths and injure the organization. Even churches, as every one knows, sometimes fail to keep their communicants in the straight and narrow way. On the other hand, outrages and crimes with which no klansman has anything to do are deliberately committed and charged to the klan to discredit it. We are against bad men of every race and affiliation, and, indeed, especially against those who befoul the fraternity

whose chief aim is to strengthen the foundations of democracy and whose principles they have sworn to uphold.

ASSERTS KLAN OBEYS LAW

"It is asserted that we aspire to usurp the functions of government. We are called an 'invisible empire.' If there are invisible empires about we are not among them. If there are organizations in the United States with attachments or loyalties to ideas and institutions un-American, the klan is not one. Remember, we swear unqualified allegiance to the constitution of the United States and to every law of the statute book, bad though it may be. Faith in law and obedience to law constitute the core of our creed. It follows that our weapons, whatever the problem, the menace, the fight, are the weapons of the constitution—ballots in the hands of an intelligent and uncoerced electorate. Instead of usurping the functions of government, we are exercising the interest and performing the duty enjoined upon every citizen in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

"Two points: There are persons who are puzzled and repelled by our regalia and by certain other formal peculiarities of our order, and there are those who accuse us of violating the spirit of the constitution by what they conceive to be our attitude to certain races and religions. Concerning the first point, if we mask our faces, we do not mask our principles; any honest seeker may learn these. There are societies that show their faces, but hide their

principles. We deem it of greater importance to the public to know men's principles than to know their names.

DIFFERENCE NOT INFERIORITY

"Relative to the second point, it would seem to be suggested that our constitution as interpreted by our Supreme Court knows nothing of differences between races and nations. This is contrary to the fact. Our Supreme court has decided that a Japanese cannot be naturalized in the United States and that the so-called 'Jim Crow' law in Mississippi is constitutionally valid. In neither of these cases does the court imply inferiority on the part of the Japanese or the negro; it merely recognizes racial differences and accommodates its reasoning to these differences in the interests of the general welfare. Ku Kluxism adopts an attitude of precisely like nature; its implications are not those of inferiority, but those of difference; and it cherishes no hostility to Catholics, Jews, negroes or foreigners as such.

"To those who would measure our movement and understand our feeling I make this suggestion: Measure the evils from which our political society long has suffered. Measure the impudence of those responsible for these evils. Measure, if you can, the humiliation of the enlightened national conscience. Recall how these evils and this humiliation have been struggled against in vain. Remember the impotence of even the decent and fearless press to purge our public life of vulgarity and crime,

not to mention defects on their face less disquieting. Make the measurements intimated and then say to yourself: 'It is against this wide front that the Ku Klux Klan is deploying and deploying with every purpose and hope to triumph.' "

FOR THE COLORED RACE

"All students of American life and of human relations generally are deeply interested in the grave and urgent problems discussed by Dr. H. W. Evans, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, and Israel Zangwill, great and high-minded Jew, in *The Daily News* last Saturday." said Edward H. Morris, distinguished colored lawyer of Chicago, and lifelong thinker on the status of his race among civilized men. Mr. Morris, as his legal confreres in Chicago know especially well, has a mind naturally keen, disciplined by rigorous use, and ripened by forty years' experience at the bar.

"One is pleased to note the good temper with which these controversialists present their respective points of view," continued Mr. Morris. "In what I have to say I trust I shall show myself equally free from heat. At the outset I wish to make it clear that I do not agree with Mr. Zangwill in regarding Dr. Evans as a naive man—an ingenuous man going wrong. On the contrary, I have great respect for Dr. Evans' understanding both of himself and of his movement. I also have a great respect for his power of expression. I should deem him a very formidable pleader upon a public platform.

RACE, CREED, COLOR ONLY PAWNS

"Ku Kluxism, in my opinion—Ku Kluxism as apprehended by Dr. Evans and as we see it unfolding before our eyes—is a cold-blooded, deeply-calculated, able bid for political and

social domination in this country. Dr. Evans and his friends want to run America. I believe that race, creed and color concern them only as pawns in a game. They think they know how to move these pawns to win the game. Dr. Evans' broad humanitarianism—I may misjudge him, I may be wrong, but I am giving you my honest opinion—seems to me but a smoke screen to hide his real intention. I think he is endeavoring to mass the hatreds of the many for the benefit of the few.

"These Ku Kluxers, as I view them, are men dreaming of lost things and planning to get these things back. They have lost domination. They have lost authority. They have lost power. These possessions have passed into other hands and lie behind almost impregnable defenses. Ku Kluxers want to breach these defenses and seize domination, authority, power. They are dreaming and scheming not only for themselves, but for their children and their children's children; they are taking the long view.

FEAR TO SHARE VICTORY

"Let us try to analyze their strategy. They are expecting victory. 'What,' they are asking themselves, 'do we want the position to be when we win?' Obviously, they do not want the Jews to be among the victors. The Jews are the money men of the world, the masters of finance, hence powerful in the domain of business and, indeed, in every domain. If the Jews were among the victors, clearly they would be entitled to, and would claim, their share of

the spoils of war. Thus the Ku Klux policy is to make them ineligible to membership in this power-seeking organization, with its masks and sheets and picturesque crypticisms. Ku Kluxers, when they win—if they win—desire to dictate to, not to be dictated to by, the Jews.

"If a Ku Klux victory, with the Jews in it, would be barren from the standpoint of the creators and controllers of the klan, so it would be comparatively barren if it succeeded with the Catholics in it. Catholics in this country include the Irish of this country, in the rough reckoning. Irishmen are politicians. They know how to get into and to hold the public offices of great municipalities like Boston, New York and Chicago. If the Kluxers marched to victory with Irish officers and men in their army, who doubts that the Irishmen would demand their share of the spoils? So it befalls that the Ku Klux dream and inclusion of the Irishman become incompatible, and the Irishman is barred from this converging movement upon the places of command over our political and social destinies.

FOREIGN-BORN LACK GRIEVANCE

"Now as to the foreign-born man in the United States. Why would he not be a source of strength to the Kluxers? Because he has no grievance. Nobody here has done anything to him. He has not lost in America anything he is dreaming of recovering. He wants to work, to make a living, to carve out a place for himself and for his descendants in his new home. So he is poor material for propagandist

and political purposes. He dislikes agitation. He is immune against Ku Klux poison. Included in the klan he would be a constant source of weakness to it, and might prove its disintegration. There is such a thing, you know, as a bit of leaven leavening the whole lump. Hence foreign-born Americans are not wanted in the Ku Klux Klan.

"Finally, let us consider the negro, the colored man. Kluxers look upon the negro as an asset to them in their purposes. By ostracizing him they conceive they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. To be against the negro is to be popular in many circles and over large areas of our country. Ku Klux opposition to the negro means members for the klan. It means members not only in the south but in the north, where our race is beginning to abound. Antagonism to Jews and Catholics is also a member-getting influence for the klan. Exaggeration of the evil character of the immigrant has the same effect, for thousands of Americans fear the immigrant and think we should slam, bar and bolt the door against him.

CALLS DESPOTISM REAL AIM

"Elimination of elements that would be embarrassing if co-victors, and the skillful play upon prejudice and antipathy in building up an obedient mass of citizens—these seem to me the outstanding features of Ku Klux leadership. If this leadership underlines nobility of sentiment, it is only in the hope that its actual aims will pass unnoticed. What it contemplates is despotism—a fact not left to inference, but

avowed. Dr. Evans plainly tells us he prefigures an exclusive Nordic rule in this land, which our greatest minds always have thought of as a laboratory of democracy—a place where the humblest might attain the stature of a man. I say to Dr. Evans: 'We do not want your despotism, benevolent as you might wish it to be; we have no confidence in the power of even the strongest and wisest of human leaders to create and maintain despotisms really benevolent.'

"Perhaps I may say a word more particularly about my own race. Dr. Evans avers it cannot attain the Anglo-Saxon level—cannot rise. Our English alphabet came from the Egyptian ancestors of the colored people; some intelligence must have been there. Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, had hair curlier than mine, and so did the quadroon, Dumas, master of romantic fiction—both negroid, with the most pronounced negroid characteristics. St. Augustine, greatest of the Latin fathers, one of the most powerful minds the world has seen, the man who molded the spirit of the Christian church for centuries, the man to whom, in the Reformation, protestants and Catholics alike appealed—St. Augustine was the son of the saintly Monica, and today would be called colored.

CITES EXAMPLE OF MOSES

"Moses did not think ill of the colored people; he married an Ethiopian woman. We find the story in the twelfth chapter of Numbers. Miriam and Aaron, Moses' sister and brother,

did not like his choice of a wife; their sympathies were like those of Dr. Evans. They made complaint. Becoming seditious over the matter, they intimated that the Lord had spoken as certainly by them as by Moses. Thereupon the Lord, appearing in a cloud in the door of the tabernacle, gave emphatic sanction to Moses as his servant; his anger was "kindled" against Miriam and Aaron, 'and he departed.'

"Josephine, wife of Napoleon, was a creole; intelligence and charm she must have had. Alexander Hamilton, our greatest master of public finance and a lawyer of primary eminence, was born in the West Indian island of Nevis, and today would be called a colored man. His mother was a Huguenot of colored blood. J. J. Wright, in the '70s, was one of the three members of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, wrote a large number of its opinions, and established his legal learning and soundness of judgment in almost every Supreme court in the United States.

"Owassa Tanner, son of Bishop Tanner, is one of the great artists of the world, his masterpiece, 'Daniel in the Lions' Den,' winning recognition in the celebrated galleries of home and foreign cities. Coleridge Taylor, an English black, is known throughout the musical world as a composer; and Roland Hayes, singer, is without a superior and with few peers. These and many other examples from ancient and modern life demonstrate the falsity of the assertion that colored blood incapacitates its

possessor for distinction and for usefulness in the spheres of politics and art.

SEES RELIGION RULE POLITICS

"I am with Mr. Zangwill and against Dr. Evans on the question of immigration. Immigration has built up this country, and we need more of it. To shut it out is to shut many of our factory doors. I am with Mr. Zangwill for the universal as against the Nordic God. Dr. Evans' assertion that the klan separates church and state I cannot grasp, for his whole idea seems to be that of a controlling political body inspired by an exclusive religious faith. If this is not, essentially, union of church and state, what is it?

"I agree with both Dr. Evans and Mr. Zangwill in their conclusion that what the world transcendently needs is peace. I agree with them that every great war is virtually certain to involve America, and that American statesmen, therefore, should support with vigor and pertinacity the world peace movement, even if we had no duty to others than ourselves. Isolation is a false light in the marsh; only foolish and dangerous public men will follow it—dangerous because they lead, if they lead at all, in the direction of calamity for the people.

"I am against Mr. Zangwill and with Dr. Evans on the point of our independence. I feel we cannot usefully impair our independence in the present state of human society. I would have America in world affairs, but would make the experiment gradually and with sagacity.

We are too ignorant of other peoples and of the complexities of diplomacy to rush in. Yet our very ignorance, considering our interests and obligations, makes it our duty to learn, and we cannot learn while holding aloof—while, as it were, remaining away from school.

CALLS ALL HUMANITY ONE

"How I wish our people and every people might lay hold of the supreme political, social and economic fact that humanity is one! It is often on our lips, this saying, but it has slight, if any, lodgment in our minds. Sometimes my colored brethren say to me, 'Let us build a city of our own; let us withdraw somewhere into a corner, where we may be by ourselves and have peace.' 'Ah,' I say to them, 'you are playing with fancies. We can have no such thing as a city of our own. In all the world there are no corners where any section of mankind may live in isolation. We are dependent upon the whites, the whites upon us, and all races and nationalities upon one another.' As expressive of the truth about all major human influences, as well as about freedom, I quote to my brethren these lines:

"When a deed is done for freedom.
Through the earth's broad, aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic.
Trembling on from east to west."

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384 Four One-Act Plays. Strindberg.
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418 The Bacchantes. Euripides.
335 Land of Heart's Desire. Yeats.
229 Les Precieuses Ridicules (English). Moliere.
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371 Empedocles on Etna. Arnold.
376 Woman of No Importance. Wilde.
354 The League of Youth. Ibsen.
353 Doll's House. Ibsen.
302 Wild Duck. Ibsen.
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253 King Henry VIII.
254 Taming of the Shrew.
255 King Lear.
256 Venus and Adonis.
257 King Henry IV. Part I.
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259 King Henry VI. Part I.
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262 Comedy of Errors.
263 King John.
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386 Creatures That Once Were Men. Gorki.
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